

2015 年 12 月 22 日発行

# Observations on Dialectal Forms and Standardisation in the Vernacular Texts of Late Medieval Norfolk

Koichi KANO

## 0. Introduction

The problem of standardisation of the English language in the late medieval period has long attracted scholars of historical English. The increasing number of recent publications and articles on the matter attests to this. The ‘standard’ language discussed here is not that of spoken language, but of the written form. The ‘standard’ in modern meaning is very different, of course, from what the ‘standard’ meant in the medieval period. In this case, it is safe to say that the ‘standard’ is language which includes a writing system with many common features found in a wide area. It should be understood that both spoken and written languages could share many features in common, since drawing a line between them, specially in the middle ages, is virtually impossible.<sup>1</sup>

It has been and still is generally considered that Chancery English and the language of the Wycliffite Bible directly influenced and contributed to the establishment of Standard English. The former was a language used in official or legal documents and the latter was the English of the Wycliffite school translation of the Bible. Before this mainstream idea of the making of the standard, Wyld (1936), for example, proposed the English of East Anglia (or more specifically that of Norfolk) as an origin of the standard. The reason they considered this to be the case was Norfolk’s dominant political and economic position at that time. During the period, however, of the great transition of the language itself, seen in late medieval English, the written language of Norfolk could not have had an impact on that of the prestigious dialects in London and

---

<sup>1</sup> A Suffolk friar Osborn of Bokenham stated in his Middle English work *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* “. . . spekyng and wrytyn I wyl pleyntly / Aftyr the speche of langage of Suthfolk”, which conveys the fact that the spoken language and the written language are rarely different (Serjeantson (1936), p. 111).

peripheral area, and then Norfolk dialect had undergone the rapid levelling with the growing literacy among the laity.

This article is to produce a tentative answer to questions concerning the kinds of spelling that continued to be used and the forms that were expelled from the texts written in late medieval Norfolk through the viewpoint of readableness. In the following sections, I shall investigate the dialectal elements which failed to become the written standard.

## 1. Methodology - time span, manuscripts, genres<sup>2</sup>

The range is limited to the period from the first half of the fourteenth century to the second half of the fifteenth century, that is, the late Middle English period. There are some reasons to restrict the period, partly because the limitation enables us to utilise *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (hereafter *LALME*) and also that it is possible to consult numerous manuscripts of various genres. Beadle (1991) provides a detailed list of manuscripts written in Norfolk, some of which are not recorded in *LALME*. Language of manuscripts can theoretically be categorised into four types as follows:<sup>3</sup>

1. Localisable dialects
2. Chancery Standard
3. Regional forms + Chancery Standard

---

<sup>2</sup> It should be appropriate to suggest some of the problematic points in the present methodology, i.e. the handling of unevenness of the data and the use of the dot maps in *LALME*. I have chosen five items for the present study, which are not always obtainable in all texts. For this reason, it is practically impossible to get rid of the unevenness of the data. The word SIN, for instance, is distinctly scarce in such texts with practical contents as genre A, but in B texts (which are religious) *naturally* the word appears far more. This is a good example that the frequency of a particular word is affected by the genre: the word SIN is deeply related to the religion. In genre I (grammatical: e.g. Latin-Middle English dictionary such as *The Promptorium Parvulorum*), likewise, the word SHALL (or SHOULD) is rarely found. The preference of the words depends on the kind of document, which consequently narrows the selection of the items. *LALME* is, without any doubt, a huge mine of linguistic data, which covers a great number of manuscripts, provides useful information from Linguistic Profile, and whose dot maps give the distribution of variant spellings of particular forms at a glance; these dots on the linguistic maps, however, do identify the existence of the variant forms, but do not answer the kind (genre) of texts in which the variant forms appear.

<sup>3</sup> See Beadle (1991), pp. 102-108.

#### 4. Colourless regional writings

Although we are naturally going to deal with the types of language other than Chancery Standard, it is improbable to encounter a manuscript written in well categorised language. The language used in numerous manuscripts was always somewhere between the categories.

The list of manuscripts that Beadle illustrates was selected with the advice of late professor Angus McIntosh. The 137 manuscripts of Norfolk origin were chosen and classified into several genres.<sup>4</sup> The materials for the present investigation are taken from five genres, which are able to provide relatively balanced data. Genre K consists of almost Guild documents. Five genres are shown below:

- A. Practical (Medical, Astronomical, etc.), 26 MSS.
- B. Devotional and Theological, 54 MSS.
- C. Lyric, 11 MSS.
- J. Plays, 5 MSS.
- K. Miscellaneous (Guild's documents), 10 items.

In the present survey, I shall follow Beadle (1991) in terms of the categorization of the language of the manuscripts and their genres. Five words are chosen to sort out the spelling variations: SHALL (including SHOULD), WHICH, MIGHT, KIND, and SIN, which respectively produce the data stably. The first three items - SHALL, WHICH, MIGHT - are considered to have certain characteristics of the dialect in the dot maps of *LALME*, vol. 1. The last two items -KIND and SIN- are to examine the development of OE *y*. The spelling variants are collected from Linguistic Profile(s) (hereafter LP), manuscripts, and facsimiles of manuscripts, which are listed in the appendix attached at the end of this article. The ratios of the occurrence of each variant are shown at the respective sections.

---

<sup>4</sup> It should be remembered that genres cannot be always divided precisely: some manuscripts were written in multiple genres by one hand.

## 2. Survey of the Materials

### 2.1. The Reflex of OE *sc-*

The Late ME spelling variants for the reflex of OE initial *sc-* (in *SHALL*, etc.) are <*schal*, *schuld*>, <*shal*, *shuld*>, <*xal*, *xuld*> as three mainstream types and the subordinate types of <*sal*, *suld*>, <*chal*, *chuld*>, and <*scal*, *sculd*>. The Table 1 indicates the occurrence of the spelling variants.

**Table 1: The Reflex of OE *sc-***

	<x->	<sch->	<sh->	<ch->	<sc->	<s->
A	41%	40.9%	18%	-	-	-
B	19.2%	50.2%	26.3%	1.7%	1.7%	-
C	40%	20%	-	20%	-	20%
J	31.2%	31.2%	25%	-	12.5%	-
K	7.6%	38.4%	23%	7.6%	-	23%

It should be noted that the variants other than <x-> are relatively prevailing, even though the variant <x-> is said to be characteristic in Norfolk texts. In genre A, C, and J, the occurrence of <x-> shows high frequency. The use of <x-> and <*sch-*> is equal in A and J. For B and K, <*sch-*> type spellings are recurring, but the type <x-> is less preferred.

Wright (2001) describes the ratio of the occurrence of type <x-> in K (i.e. Guild's documents) as "The London scribes show less variation for *shall* than the Norfolk scribes, and no <-n> suffixes. <x> is often regarded as a typical Norfolk form; in this text type it is the third major variant, but it has a low frequency of token occurrence (7%)."<sup>5</sup> The present investigation demonstrates almost the same result as Wright evinced that the <x-> type turns out to be a minor variant in the Guild's documents.<sup>6</sup> C

<sup>5</sup> See Wright (2001), p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> The following table shows the outcome of the survey by Wright (2001):

Present tense third person singular "shall" tokens	
Norfolk (N = 566)	
shall	schal (44%), shal (38%), xal (7%), sha�� (3%), scal (2%), sal (2%), ssal (2%), shul (0.3%), shall (0.1%),

and K have <s-> type of spelling which is a distinctive feature of Northern speech. The <s-> type in C was written by a Franciscan friar, John Grimestone.<sup>7</sup> According to Kristensson (1995), the use of <s-> for the sound /ʃ/ (<OE sc-) can be found in Early ME Lay Subsidy Rolls.<sup>8</sup> Additionally the initial <s-> for SHALL is also employed in an Early ME allegorical poem the *Physiologus*.<sup>9</sup>

2.2. The Reflex of OE hw-

There are seven variants for the initial consonant cluster derived from OE hw- in WHICH: <qwych>, <quich>, <qwhych>, <qhych>, <qych>, <whych> and <wich>. The spelling <qw-> is exclusively typical of Norfolk texts. The result of the survey is shown in Table 2:

Table 2: The Reflex of OE hw-

	<qw->	<qu->	<qwh->	<qh->	<q->	<wh->	<w->
A	33.3%	14.2%	4.7%	-	-	23.8%	23.8%
B	38%	8.3%	3.3%	1.6%	3.3%	25%	20.5%
C	25%	-	-	-	-	50%	25%
J	11.2%	-	-	-	-	33.3%	55.5%
K	42.8%	14.2%	-	-	-	14.5%	28.5%

It is noticeable that the use of <qw-> is over 30% in A and B, 42% in K. On the other hand, C and J exhibit high frequency of the use of <wh->, which became the standard spelling, instead of <qw->.

London (N = 143)  
shall

shal (0.1), sshal (0.1%), schale (0.1%), chal (0.1%),  
shuln (0.1%), sshullen (0.1%)

schal (73%), shal (14%), shul (5%), shall (3%), sshal  
(1.5%), schul (1.5%), shul (1%), sha (1%)

<sup>7</sup> The manuscript is now preserved in the National Library of Scotland, Advocates' 9. 21. 7., which is a holograph. See *LALME*, vol. 1, p. 88.

<sup>8</sup> See Kristensson (1995) pp. 136-137.

<sup>9</sup> Laing (1993) assigns the provenance of the manuscript (London, British Library, MS. Arundel 292) of *The Physiologus* in West Norfolk, which is close to that of the Grimestone's lyrics. The form <sal> is found in f. 4r, etc. For the language of Grimestone, see *LALME*, vol. 3, pp. 331-332 (LP4041).

If we take a look at the frequency of the use between type <q-> and type <w->, similar tendencies are found for genres such as A, B and K: the use of <q-> shows 52.5% and <w-> 47.6% in A; the use of <q-> scores 54.5% and <w-> 45.5% in B; finally K has 57% of <q-> and 43% of <w->. In C and J, however, <w-> type spelling noticeably constitutes a majority of cases. Wright illustrates the comparison between the two types of spellings, <q-> and <w->, which confirms almost the same result as in the present article. The distribution of the <q-> variants in *LALME* (item WHICH; dot map nos. 76 & 77) is spread out in the western part of Norfolk, especially around King's Lynn.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.3. The Reflex of OE -ht

Eight different types of spellings representing the reflex of OE -ht as in the item MIGHT are found: <-ht>, <-th>, <-t>, <-ȝt>, <-ght>, <-ȝht>, <-gth>, and <-tht>. Table 3 shows the distribution of the variant spellings:

**Table 3: The Reflex of OE -ht.**

	<-ht>	<-th>	<-t>	<-ȝt>	<-ght>	<-ȝht>	<-gth>	<-ȝth>	<-tht>
A	5.2%	31.5%	15.8%	31.5%	10.5%	-	-	-	-
B	-	26.8%	16%	14.2%	26.8%	5.3%	1.7%	-	1.7%
C	28.5%	28.5%	14.2%	14.2%	-	-	-	-	14.2%
J	10.5%	31.5%	15.8%	-	10.5%	-	10.5%	-	-
K	-	-	20%	20%	40%	-	20%	-	-

The variant forms for the reflex of OE -ht are, as can be seen from the table 3, plentiful or even prodigal, and this predisposition is also the case in early Middle English period.<sup>11</sup> As the dot maps in *LALME* indicate, the three variant forms <-ht>, <-th>, and <-t> are the prevalent ones in Norfolk, and more broadly, East Anglia. Although the <-ght> is the most current throughout England, many Norfolk texts have

<sup>10</sup> For the variants <w-> and <q-> in WHICH, see *LALME*, vol. 1, pp. 323-324. The latter variant is also found in the manuscripts written in the north of England.

<sup>11</sup> See the discussion in Laing and Lass (2003).

that form as well.<sup>12</sup> In Chancery documents, <-gh< type is recognised as the major variant. The two variants <-3t< and <-gh< are seemingly remaining in coexistence as *LALME* shows. Each dispersal, however, is slightly varying. The former is found to a greater extent in West Midland, Cambridgeshire, and London; the latter in central England and around the London area.<sup>13</sup>

In A and J, the ratios of the use of <-th< and <-t< are equal. Variants <-3t< and <-th< show the similar frequency in A. The documents belonging to B and K do not have the <-ht< type variant. Notwithstanding that the variant <-3t< is found in all genres other than J, this form is rather a minor variant compared with <-gh<. A characteristic of the written English in Norfolk is the spelling <-th<, the other way round from the OE consonant cluster <-ht<. This kind of confusion of the spelling appears in the forms such as <-gh<, <-3th<, <-tht<. As the single consonantal spelling <-t< as in *myt(e)*, the /ç/ sound for the reflex of OE *h* was already lost in the Late Middle English period, which suggests that the lengthening of the vowel /i/ > /i:/ had been realised in consequence. Thus, the confusion in the spellings can be regarded as the behaviour of the scribes led by the loss of the consonant.

#### 2.4. The Reflex of OE *y* before *-nd*

The reflex of OE *y*, i.e. ME *i*, *e*, and *u*, has long been discussed, for which *LALME*, no doubt, has given a clear picture of the distribution.<sup>14</sup> Although a series of studies on the development of OE *y* had been done by Wyld (1913), the treatment of the texts he dealt with was questionable in that the materials from different periods and provenance were not a little wrongly identified. In this section, the scribal behaviour for OE *y* will be considered.

When OE *y* becomes ME /e(:)/, it is generally said that this case indicates the Kentish feature which is indicated in the spelling with <e>. But is this phenomenon

<sup>12</sup> Dot maps for the item MIGHT are shown in *LALME*, vol. 1, pp. 386-388 (map nos. 331-336).

<sup>13</sup> These variants could not be considered as illustrating a striking contrast, which may be discerned by some scribes. From Tables 4 and 5 respectively of KIND and SIN, no genre showing the same ratio of the use of two variants, is found: there is a tendency that either variant was employed (probably arbitrarily).

<sup>14</sup> For the reflex of OE *y* in KIND, see *LALME*, vol. 1, p. 531. The data for the item SIN is based on my own previous investigation.



exclusively characteristic of Kentish dialect? *LALME* illustrates that OE *y* appears as <*e*> in part of Norfolk and Suffolk: *kend* for KIND and *sen(n)* for SIN. Rhyme evidence also attests to the lowering of /i(:)/ (< OE *y*) to /e(:)/ as well as the normal East Midland type development OE *y* > ME /i/.<sup>15</sup> Although this article does not deal with the attestation of pronunciation, the distribution of <*i, y*> and <*e*> in KIND and SIN has no pattern in genres as far as Tables 4 and 5 indicate. These Tables show KIND (< OE *cynd*) and SIN (< OE *syn(n)*) by way of illustration:

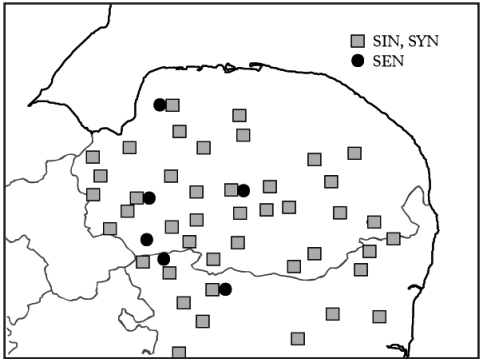
**Table 4: KIND**

	<i, y>	<e>
A	80%	20%
B	45%	55%
C	100%	-
J	33%	67%
K	100%	-

**Table 5: SIN**

	<i, y>	<e>
A	100%	-
B	88%	12%
C	80%	20%
J	100%	-
K	100%	-

The distributional data of SIN, which is based on *LALME* and my own survey, is mapped as below:



**Figure 1: Distribution of SIN**

<sup>15</sup> I have dealt with the development of OE *y* in Norfolk dialect in the late Middle English period at the 21st congress of Japan Society of Medieval English Studies held in December 2004, at Tsukuba University. For example, the following rhymes attest to ME /e(:)/ < OE *y*: *kynd* “kind” - *send* “send”, *mend* “mind” - *end* “end”, *syn* “sin” - *ben* “been”, etc.

### 3. Interpretation of the Linguistic Evidence

A brief account on the relationship between those who write and those who read will be helpful before we begin the section. The word *litterati* in medieval period usually refers to the clerics who are capable of reading and writing in Latin. In later medieval England, however, things were slightly different. It is common knowledge that the literacy rate became relatively high in England during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries: there were lively correspondence by the members and friends of the Paston family, or many Latin medical books were translated into English. These examples indicate that the readers and the audience in English, whatever they were, had immensely increased. In Norfolk where there was Norwich, the second largest commercial city at that time, if we were to add those who had ‘pragmatic literacy’ as Parkes (1973) put it, the literacy rate must have been even higher. Although we use the word *literacy*, it does not necessarily mean that those who can read are not always able to write. In the *Paston Letters and Papers*, for instance, Margaret Paston who was very productive did not write by herself, but other people who were able to dictate have written for her: in most cases the writers for Margaret were chaplains and clerks. And Margery Kemp of King’s Lynn as well asked a scribe to dictate her words. Thus those who wrote in the vernacular language were not uneducated at all; they did manage to write in Latin other than in English. Even the particular dialectal forms such as <x> for OE *sc-*, <q> for OE *hw-*, and <-th> for OE *-ht*, are found in their texts. It is normally the case that the writers/copyists were those who had connection with Oxford/Cambridge universities, religious institutions, or bureaucratic circles.

Judging from the result shown in the tables above, there is a similar frequency in their variant forms in B and K: (1) the use of <x> for OE *sc-* which is considered as one of the typical Norfolk dialect spellings, shows a low proportion in both genres. (2) Since there is a rivalry between the type <q> and the type <w> for the reflex of OE *hw-*, it is difficult to conclude which is the major variant, and (3) there is the heavy use of <-ght> for OE *-ht*. Any connection between B and K as a genre seems at a glance inconceivable, but why do they have close affinity in their variant spellings? Guilds were originally founded with a strong relation to the church. This is what is called

*fraternitas*, which was an organisation affiliated with the church and participating in many religious events. These fraternities were formed on every social level: the clergy, poor scholars, lepers, and pilgrims. The fraternity of the artisan craftsmen was the commonest group, as seen in Norfolk Guild documents.<sup>16</sup> Writing skills of most people at that time were poor, except for the clergy or traders. Therefore it is hard to think that these craftsmen by themselves took a pen and wrote down their Guilds' documents. Close connection to churches suggest that the fraternity asked clerks to write for them. Such an assumption of artisanal links to the ecclesiastical class would allow the language of B and K to have common features. But the language of genre C, in turn, does not share the attributes with other genres very much. This is partly due to the nature of literary texts which tended to be copied in less distinct dialectal forms.<sup>17</sup>

In each item, the antagonism between the forms of what is called 'dialectal' and 'Standard' is obvious. The cause of the relevant conflict is said to have often been attributed to the existence of the Chancery Standard. Nevertheless, since it is considered that the formation of the Chancery Standard itself was during the first quarter of the fifteenth century, it is difficult to see any direct influence from Chancery English on the Guild Returns which were written in Norfolk thirty or forty years before the establishment of the Chancery Standard. There is no doubt that the Chancery Standard played a great role in levelling regional written languages. On the other hand, according to the present result, together with that of Wright, the writing system of Norfolk shared forms similar to those that subsequently became the standard: Norfolk's written language contained spellings which were common enough to be used nationwide. The Chancery Standard played a role in reinforcing the standard elements such as <sch-> <sh-> together with <x-> and <-t> <-ght> together with <-t> or <-th>.

If one should say, for example, "the form Y is typical for dialect Z", the form Y is nothing but one of the variants which exist in an inventory of a certain scribe, or more broadly speaking, in dialect Z and the language of the surrounding area. It comes as no

---

<sup>16</sup> See Smith, et al. (eds.) (1870, 1963 rept), pp. 14-123. For the detailed discussion on the origin of Guilds, see *op.cit.*, pp. lxi-cxcix.

<sup>17</sup> See Mills (1998), pp. 187-88.

surprise to think that the texts such as B and K, which were revealed to the *litterati*, the public who can at least read and write, would have been written in a way anyone could read. Contrary to the circumstances of official documents, texts such as A, C, and J were written and copied for the use of particular persons or even personal use. The dialectal spellings limited the range of readership. Once the language leaves the hand of the writer, how much it may convey is *sine qua non* of the written language. In this point, the written dialect of Norfolk was never an easy one for other dialect users; the written systems that developed in Norwich or King's Lynn became difficult to be accepted in other regions.<sup>18</sup> This was one of the reasons that detached the Norfolk dialect from the more prestigious 'Standard' variety.

## Bibliography

### Facsimiles

- Baker, Dnald C. and J. L. Murphy. 1976. *The Digby Plays: Facsimiles of the Plays in Bodley MSS Digby 133 and e Museo 160*. Leeds: The University of Leeds.
- Bevington, David (ed.). 1972. *The Macro Plays: The Castle of Perseverance, Wisdom, Mankind*. Washington, D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library; New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation.

### Editions

- Barnum, P. H. (ed.) 1976. *Dives and Pauper*. EETS, os 275. London: Oxford University Press.
- Beckerman, John S. 1974. 'The Articles of Presentment of a Court Leet ana Court Baron, in English, c. 1400'. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 47, 230-234.
- Black, William Hernry. (ed.) 1842. 'A Paraphrase on the Seven Penitential Psalms'. *Percy Society Publication* 7. London: Percy Society.
- Block, K. Salter (ed.) 1922 *Ludus Coventriae, or, The plaie called Corpus Christi: Cotton ms. Vespasian D. VIII*. EETS, es 120. London: Oxford University Press.

---

<sup>18</sup> Beadle (1991) also considers that the peculiarity in Norfolk orthography such as *gwat* 'what' and *che* 'she' prevents its recurrence in England.

- Bowers, R. H. 1955. 'A Middle-English Poem on the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost'. *Modern Language Notes* 70, 249-252.
- Brown, Carleton (ed.) 1952<sup>2</sup>. *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- (ed.) 1939, 1967 (repr.). *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Craig, Hardin (ed.) 1916. *The works of John Metham*. EETS, os 132. London: K. Paul, Trench & Trubner.
- Davis, Norman (ed.) 1970. *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*. EETS, ss 1. London: Oxford University Press.
- D'Evelyn, C. 1918. 'The Middle-English metrical version of the Revelations of Methodius; with a study of the influence of Methodius in Middle-English writings'. *PMLA* 33, 156-182.
- Fisher, John H., Malcolm Richardson, and Jane L Fisher (eds.) 1984. *An Anthology of Chancery English*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Greene, Richard Leighton (ed.) 1977<sup>2</sup>. *The Early English Carols*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Holthausen, F. 1896. 'Medicinische Gedichte aus einer Stockholmer Handschrift'. *Anglia* 18, 293-331.
- James, M. R. and G.C. Macaulay, 1913. 'Fifteenth Century Carols and Other Pieces'. *Modern Language Review* 8, 68-86.
- Mayhew, A. L. (ed.) 1908. *Promptorium Parvulorum*. EETS, es 102. London: Oxford University Press.
- Parker, Roscoe E. (ed.) 1928, 1987. *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne*. EETS, os 174. London: Oxford University Press; New York: Kraus Reprint.
- Person, Henry A. (ed.) 1962, 1969 (repr.). *Cambridge Middle English Lyrics*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Robbins, Rossell Hope (ed.) 1955<sup>2</sup>. *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Serjeantson, M. S. (ed.) 1936. *Osbern Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen*. EETS, os 206. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Toulmin., Lucy T. Smith and Lujo Brentano (eds.) 1870, 1963 (rept.). *English Gilds*. EETS, os 40. London: Oxford University Press.

### **Secondary Works**

Beadle, Richard. 1991. 'Prolegomena to a Literary Geography of Late Medieval Norfolk'. in Riddy (ed.) 1991, 89-108.

Benskin, Michael and M. Laing. 1981. 'Translation and Mischsprachen in Middle English Manuscripts'. in Benskin and Samuels (eds.) 1981, 55-106.

Benskin, Michael and M. L. Samuels (eds.) 1981. *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*.

Daiches, D. and Thorlby, A. (eds.) 1973. *Literature and Western Civilization, vol. 2: The Medieval World*. London: Aldus

Fisiak, J. and P. Trudgill (eds.) 2001. *East Anglian English*. Suffolk: D. S. Brewer.

Jones, M. Claire. 2000. 'Vernacular literacy in late-medieval England: the example of East Anglian medical manuscripts'. Glasgow: unpublished Ph.D. thesis.

Jordan, Richard. tran. by Eugene J. Crook. 1974. *Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology*. The Hague: Mouton

Kristensson, Gillis. 1995. *A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290-1350: the East Midland Counties*. Skrifter Utgivna av Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund. Lund: Lund University Press.

Laing, Margaret. 1991. 'Anchor Texts and Literary Manuscripts in Early Middle English.' In Riddy (ed.) 1991, 27-52.

----- (ed.) 1993. *Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

-----, 1997. 'A Fourteenth-Century Sermon on the Number Seven in Merton College, Oxford, MS 248.' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 2/98, 99-134.

----- (ed.) 1989. *Middle English Dialectology, Essays on Some Principles and Problems*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.

- Laing, M. and R. Lass. 2003. 'Tales of the 1001 *nists*: the phonological implications of *litteral* substitution sets in some thirteenth-century South-West Midland texts'. *English Language and Linguistics* 7.2, 257-278.
- McCarren, V. P. and Moffat, D. (eds.) 1998. *A Guide to Editing Middle English*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Mills, M. 1998. 'Using the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*'. in McCarren and Moffat. 1998, 185-202.
- Parkes, M. B. 1973. 'The literacy of the laity'. in Daiches and Thorlby (eds.) 1973, 555-77 (reprinted in Parkes 1991, 275-98).
- Parkes M. B. 1991. *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts*. London: Hambledon.
- Riddy, Felicity (ed.) 1991. *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.
- Salter, E. 1983. *Fourteenth-Century English Poetry: Contexts and Readings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Samuels, M. L. 1981. 'Spelling and Dialect in the Late and Post-Middle English Periods', in Benskin and Samuels (eds.) 1981, 43-54.
- Wright, Laura (ed.) 2000. *The Development of Standard English, 1300-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 2001. 'Some Morphological features of the Norfolk Guild Certificates of 1388/9: an Exercise in Variation' in Fisiak and Trudgill (ed.), 2001, 79-162.
- Wyld, H. C. 1913. 'The Treatment of OE.  $\ddot{y}$  in the Dialects of the Midland, and SE. Counties, in ME.' *Englische Studien* 47, 1-58; 145-166.
- , 1936. *A History of Modern Colloquial English*. Oxford: Blackwell.

### **Atlases**

- McIntosh, Angus, Samuels, M. L. and Benskin, M., et. al. (eds.) 1986. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.

## Appendix

### The List of Manuscripts

The following list which based on Beadle (1991) shows the manuscripts I have consulted for the present study. In the list, there are a few marks in the parenthesis used for the sources of the data: (MS) signifies that the data are collected directly from manuscript, and (MF) means from microfilm. The data which *LALME* provides are also the subject to be re-examined here as necessary.

Bethesda, Maryland, National Library of Medicine, 4 (MF)	Cambridge, University Library, Oo. 7. 332 (MS)
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 167	Canterbury, Cathedral Library, Add. 68
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 147/197	Dublin, Trinity College, 652
Cambridge, Goville and Caius College, 364/619	Dublin, Trinity College, 428
Cambridge, Jesus College, 13	Durham, University Library, Cosin V. iii. 8
Cambridge, King's College, 8	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 6126 (MF)
Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1307	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates'
Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 878	18.7.21 (MF)
Cambridge, Pembroke College, 312 C/6 (binding fragment)	Eton, Eton College, 34 (II)
Cambridge, Pembroke College, 313 (binding fragments)	Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian 117
Cambridge, St. John's College, B. 15 (I) (II)	Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian 270
Cambridge, St. John's College, B. 6	Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian 197 (MF)
Cambridge, St. John's College, F. 26	Hopton Hall (Derbs.), Chandos-Pole-Gell MS
Cambridge, St. John's College, G. 35	Lichfield, Cathedral Library, 50 ( <i>olim</i> 18)
Cambridge, St. John's College, S. 54	London, British Library, Add. 11304 (MS)
Cambridge, Trinity College O. 9. 28	London, British Library, Add. 12195 (MS)
Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 13. 44 (IV)	London, British Library, Add. 22556 (MS)
Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 3.58 (roll)	London, British Library, Add. 36704 (MS)
Cambridge, Trinity Hall, 17	London, British Library, Add. 37789 ( <i>olim</i> Philipps 8306) (MS)
Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2830 (MF) (MS)	London, British Library, Add. 4733 (MS)
Cambridge, University Library, Ee. 1. 13 (MS)	London, British Library, Add. 61823 (MS)
Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 5. 40 (MF)	London, British Library, Arundel 168 (MS)
Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 34 (III) (MF)	London, British Library, Arundel 20 (MS)
Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 4. 12 (MS)	London, British Library, Cotton Claudius E viii (MS)
Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 4. 27 (MF)	London, British Library, Cotton Julius F ii (MS)
Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 6. 16 (MS)	London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D viii (MS)
Cambridge, University Library, Hh. 1. 11 (MF) (MS)	London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D xv (4) (MS)
Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 4. 9 (MF) (MS)	London, British Library, Harley 1035 (MS)
Cambridge, University Library, Ll. 1. 8 (MF) (MS)	London, British Library, Harley 1239 (MS)
Cambridge, University Library, Mm. 4. 41 (IV) (MS)	London, British Library, Harley 149 (I) (MS)



- London, British Library, Harley 1747 (MS)
- London, British Library, Harley 2316 (MS)
- London, British Library, Harley 2332 (MS)
- London, British Library, Harley 2374 (MS)
- London, British Library, Harley 2379 (MS)
- London, British Library, Harley 2406 (MS)
- London, British Library, Harley 3954 (MS)
- London, British Library, Harley 6398 (MS)
- London, British Library, Harley 6573 (MS)
- London, British Library, Harley 7322 (II) (MS)
- London, British Library, Lansdowne 474 (MS)
- London, British Library, Royal 12. B. xvii (MS)
- London, British Library, Royal 17. c. xxi (MS)
- London, British Library, Royal 8. F. vii (MS)
- London, British Library, Sloane 1044, no 235 (one leaf, fol. 625r-v) (MS)
- London, British Library, Sloane 1853 (MS)
- London, British Library, Sloane 2593 (MS)
- London, British Library, Sloane 442 (MS)
- London, British Library, Sloane 521 (II) (MS)
- London, British Library, Sloane 706 (MS)
- London, British Library, Stowe 953 (MS)
- London, Dulwich College 28
- London, Lambeth Palace Library, 192 (II) (MS)
- London, Lambeth Palace Library, 492 (MS)
- London, Lambeth Palace Library, 505 (MS)
- London, Public Record Office, C47/38-46 (MF)
- London, Society of Antiquaries Library, 288
- London, Society of Antiquaries Library, 687
- London, University of London Library, 657 (*olim* Helmingham L.J. 1 7)
- London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 542
- London, Westminster Cathedral Library, B. 2. 8
- New Haven, Yale University Library, 365
- New Haven, Yale University Library, 365
- New Haven, Yale University Medical Library, Macer MS
- New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Buehler 21
- Norwich, St Peter Hungate Museum, 158.925 4g(5) (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 414. (?) (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 423 (E) (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 480 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 758 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 851 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 133 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 87 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 99 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 228 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 295 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, e, mus 116 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet, e. 1 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. f. 2. (R) (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Norfolk 20 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham misc. 39 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. th. d. 1 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. th. e. 30 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 513 (II) (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. C. 288 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. C. 299 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. C. 57 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. C. 86 (I) (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. D. 251 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. poet. 118 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. poet. 138 (MS)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 407 (MS)
- Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 291 (I) (MS)
- Oxford, Lincoln College, Lat. 141 (MS)
- Oxford, University College, 14 (MS)
- Oxford, University College, 45 (MS)
- Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, Engl. 1 (*olim* Ireland Blackburne)
- Princeton, University Library, Garrett 141
- San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 1336 (MF)
- San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 55 (MF)
- Stockholm, Royal Library, X. 90
- Stonyhurst, Stonyhurst College, B. XLII (8)
- Tokyo, private collection, prof. Takamiya, 38 (*olim* R.B. Honeyman)
- Washington, Folger Library, 5031 (MF)
- Winchester, Cathedral Library, Sylkstedt MS
- York, Minster Library, XVI. E. 32